TUEBOR

We Will Protect

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The "Great Disruption" and the State of Society and Law Enforcement

Perspective — understanding the relation of historic events; the ability to untangle the patterns of interconnecting occurrences; comprehending the effect of technological change.

Perspective is perhaps the most important element to decision-making, but also the most difficult to find. For your perspective, this article will attempt to consolidate the writings of several people who are highly regarded for their ability to assess where society has been, and where it is going.

A Great Disruption of Social Norms

Francis Fukuyama, (former deputy director of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff) helped identify the *megatrends* that precipitated the fall of the Soviet bloc. Now, in his book *The Great Disruption*, Fukuyama is examining Western society. He shows that, over the past half century, the United States and other economically advanced countries have made the shift into what is being called the "Information Age." This shift, says Fukuyama, will ultimately be as consequential as the two previous waves in human history: from hunter-gatherer to agricultural societies, and from agricultural to industrial.

Fukuyama finds much to celebrate in the current cultural, economic, and technological transformation. The Information Revolution involves more than just computer technology. It's about "knowledge" replacing mass production as the basis of wealth, power, and social interaction. And it has become obvious that information societies thrive best in modern democracies built around freedom, equality, and "individualism."

The Information Revolution is forcing bureaucracies to change from rigid and structured to flexible and empowered. Old unbending systems are crumbling, as the Soviet Union did, from their inability to control and harness the knowledge of their people. In America, individual freedom has advanced beyond our forefathers' fondest dreams and our democratic system has reached heights of efficiency that easily surpass totalitarian visions.

Unfortunately, the history of human nature shows that massive technological change can shift the distribution of power to such an extent that social rules cannot evolve fast enough to keep pace, causing a "great disruption" in social order. To put it bluntly, society's norms and values fall apart when a shift in power dramatically affects how people live.

Trends are identifiable — "history repeats itself" because "human nature repeats itself." Although William J. Bennett and other conservatives are often attacked for harping on the theme of moral decline, they are essentially correct. Just as during the last Great Disruption — The Industrial Revolution — Western societies are enduring increasing levels of crime, massive changes in fertility, breakdown of family structure, and decreasing levels of trust. Peter F. Drucker, author of *Management Challenges for the 21st Century* (1999), agrees with Fukuyama: "The Information Revolution will be like the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. And that is indeed exactly how the Information Revolution has been during its first fifty years."

The current disruption in social order may be even worse than in any previous power shift. With all the blessings that flow from a knowledge-based system, *individualism* has become a double-edged sword. Encouraged by government because it fuels the capitalist goals of innovation and prosperity — it has in some cases become so extreme as to corrode all sense of responsibility and courtesy.

Fukuyama supports much of his social analysis with the research of James Q. Wilson, one of the country's foremost authorities on crime and bureaucracy, and best known for the article *Broken Windows*, which helped inspire community policing. Says Wilson, "Once you emancipate people from strings, once you give them freedom to prosper, you're going to empower them to do all sorts of things ranging from the spectacularly good to the heinously bad."

Dangerous Attitudes

The drift of our time is away from connection . . . increasingly toward

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The "Great Disruption". . .

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alienation . . . apathy . . . and rebellion . . . alienation in a group of Americans who have no obvious reason to be alienated . . . the human toll of our technological society.

This quote may sound like it was written recently, about Gen-Xers rioting over beer rights at Michigan State, or some racist militant group. However, it was actually written in 1960 by author Kenneth Keniston, in his book *The Uncommitted*, one of the first to describe "extremist" individualism. Don't let the date confuse you, in retrospect it makes sense. The current Great Disruption or Information Revolution started in the 1950s, and anyone who has grown-up since then has been affected.

Extremist individualism can be manifested in two ways. Some become self-absorbed pleasure seekers open to any type of depravity. Others exercise the individualism brought about by the Information Age to fight against all social tolerance. While both extremes may seem contradictory, they actually have the same psychological source and are both disruptive, because both threaten to undermine the democratic principles that made individualism possible. Unlike the moderate American view of the individualist working for the good of society within society, Keniston describes the "extremist" individualist as selfish and divorced from society, hostile to social norms, and pessimistic about the future.

Research shows, says Fukuyama, that Generation-Xers have lower levels of trust than baby boomers, who in turn have lower levels of trust than their parents' generation. There are, most of all, lower levels of trust in institutions, and particularly older ones associated with authority and coercion like the police, military, and church, in virtually all Western countries surveyed. Some of this mistrust is for good reason. People felt betrayed when many public and private organizations responded to the changing economy by eliminating jobs, and/or cutting services and benefits. An increasing number of individuals, some of whom are now in management, developed a "looking out for number one" philosophy that undermines the basis of trust.

In the book *Faith Without Dogma*, Italian philosopher Franco Ferrarotti elaborated why the information revolution has created so much negative emotion in some people. Individualism has created a desire for personal power and respect that is often beyond the ability for many people to achieve. In such a world, if people don't learn humility, they become very hostile. Former CIA analyst Patrick Kennon, author of *The Twilight of Democracy*, explains that the extremist trend is for people to want personal power and to treat with contempt any system, or any people, doing better than them.

There was a time, not long ago, when the average person could understand most of what made the world tick. But technology has advanced so quickly that now, according to Ferrarotti, the power of science is visible to everyone, but the key to this power is too specialized for the mass of people to understand the whole of it. There are new rules for success and frustration is inevitable, so people look for a substitute for the power that eludes them. This can include drugs, the occult, violence, as well as becoming absorbed in fiction, such as television, or dreaming of a miraculous return to a simpler age. This "will to power" affects not only individuals, but also nations.

A White House Conference on hate crimes took place on November 7, 1997. Dr. Donald P. Green of Yale University explained that while *hate crime* perpetrators are seldom affluent or well educated, what really sets them apart from the general public is their visceral sense of discomfort with "social change."

Perpetrators of hate crime will warn that the foreigners are coming, heroes of the past are being forgotten, some new politician is threatening old-time religion, and they will fight against these supposed threats to the last drop of "your" blood. They are likely to endorse the view that "the traditional way of life is disappearing so fast that we need to use force to save it." Their ignorance inspired fear provokes discrimination and hate, two of the greatest threats that can undercut the restoration of social order.

Dr. Green states that law enforcement officials and community leaders seeking to deter hate crimes should focus their efforts on communities experiencing rapid demographic change, particularly in historically segregated areas, regardless of economic conditions. This implication has special relevance for suburban areas in the years to come. Unfortunately, when it comes to police training and organization, suburban communities and their law enforcement agencies have traditionally shown less determination in the fight against hate crime.

Fortunately, not everyone today has fallen into nihilism. However, the breakdown of trust in society has been substantial. A situation that has thrown gas on the fire has been the conflict between an industrial era power structure and the new individualistic attitude. Out of this conflict, law enforcement took its greatest setback.

The Past Runs Headlong into the Future

During the Industrial Revolution, the rise of the corporation caused a Great Disruption that overwhelmed the world. The initial abuse of power was horrendously apparent: child labor, dangerous sweatshops, and poverty wages. The resulting disruption of social morality was just as obvious then as our problems today: the crime rate rose, families broke down, illegitimacy rates grew, drug abuse (alcohol consumption) exploded, and people socially isolated themselves. Fortunately, churches were powerful enough to force reforms in government and business. The core of this re-norming came to be known as "Victorian" morality, or the inculcation of impulse control.

Formalized laws were enacted to protect youth and make school attendance mandatory, and virtue was reborn in people's lives as church attendance went up. Police departments took their first steps toward professionalization by organizing, training, and, staying with the times, using an industrial enforcement methodology. "Industrial" in the sense that "efficiency" was considered paramount, and "outputs" were used to measure performance. Police became statistic driven and event focused. The goal was to "respond" and "close," then get ready for the next incident.

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CAPRA for Cops

In the last Tuebor, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police CAPRA problem solving model was explained.

PARTNERSHIPS

While CAPRA is new, many police officers have been intuitively using the concepts to address community problems for years. There is probably no better performance, in recent State Police memory, than the Benton Harbor Detail. The nice thing about the CAPRA model, however, is that it makes it much easier to teach and learn the concepts. The purpose of this article will be to demonstrate CAPRA, from a typical police officer's perspective.

First, to review CAPRA:

- The process starts by communicating with ***C****lients* who are most affected by problems within the community.
- Information is ***A****cquired* and ***A****nalyzed* to determine the problem's causes that have the greatest impact.
- Solutions are developed through community ***P****artnerships*.
- Police ***R****espond* with a workable plan that is moral, ethical, affordable, and legal.
- After implementing the plan, police periodically ***A****ssess* the situation to ensure there is progress.

Now, say you notice a gang of juveniles hanging around a neighborhood alley and drinking alcohol. With the old "incident-response" mentality, your goal would be to confront them, cite them for any violations of the law (which creates a measurable output), then clear the case, all the time being as efficient as possible. But because you have a "problem-solving" perspective, you talk to all the local residents (your ***C****lients*, in addition to the hooligans), and you recognize that there is a bigger problem here, that this situation has been a "reoccurring" complaint, and that citations have never improved the situation.

By ***A****cquiring* and ***A****nalyzing* additional information, you find that several local teens are intimidating the entire neighborhood. Residents feel afraid to leave their homes at night because these teens are out late, hanging around, being loud and vulgar, and generally deteriorating the "moral-equity" within the community. How do you respond to this?

You seek assistance from ***P****artnerships* within the community.

Police partnerships include: parents, schools, courts, & counselors. Other partnerships will depend on the resources available in your area. Your ***R****esponse* might necessitate just one partnership, or a series of different partnerships. Your options could include the enforcement of truancy or curfew laws, getting the hooligans on probation and then helping probation officers enforce the terms, taking the time to ensure that the subjects go to counseling, or stepped-up patrol and enforcement in the area (maybe by foot or bicycle). The techniques are many and varied, but the point is to be prompt in action, proactive, problem-oriented, and neighborhood based.

After initiating a likely plan, you will periodically return to your clients to ***A****ssess* the progress, after which you may decide that things are working out, or that more options need to be tried.

Good, solid, fair enforcement continues to be a necessary response to crime. Problem oriented policing, which incorporates enforcement as one of many responses, helps address the root cause of crime, and better reduces crime, which is what police work is all about.

TRUST

A Cab Ride Opens Eyes to Prejudice

My plane had been canceled. I jumped in a cab. Said I needed to get to Detroit, which was four hours away.

The driver was a thin, black man with a thick foreign accent that I did not recognize. I glanced at the name on his ID badge. "Mursal Dhudhi."

A half hour later, I heard him say, "Oh, no . . ."

In the rearview mirror, flashing lights.

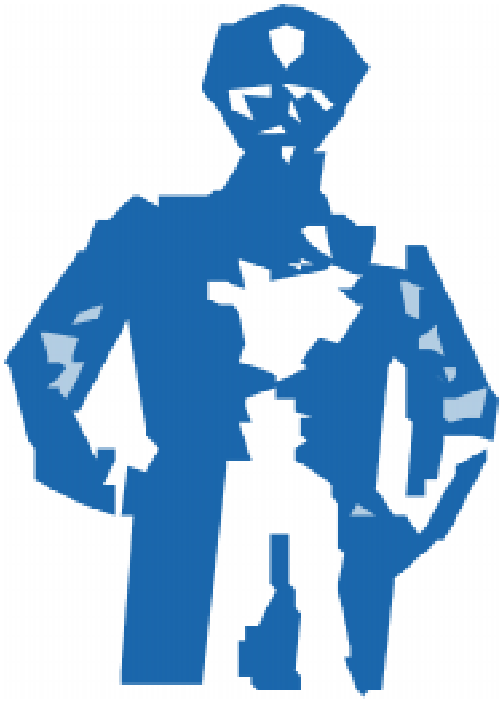
The Ohio state trooper sauntered up to the passenger-side window. He had dark sunglasses, a belly that sank over his belt and an expression that suggested he'd seen one too many cop movies. He was white.

"Come with me," he drawled to the driver.

In the front seat of the squad car, they sat for more than 20 minutes. Through the taxi's rear window, I watched them talk, the driver waving his hands, looking scared and frustrated.

When he returned, with a speeding ticket, he could barely speak.

"What happened?" I asked. It took a minute before he could answer.



"He ask me . . . if I steal this car," he finally said, his heart pumping adrenaline into his voice. "He ask me . . . do I have drugs in car. He ask me why I go to Detroit, who I meeting there, is it drugs? I tell him you are customer, and I take you to Detroit. He say I only going to Detroit because car is stolen, or drugs, I should admit this."

He shook his head wildly. "Why?" he said. "He see a black man, he have to say that? Why?"

Life as a refugee

The highway rolled outside the window. Hot summer air blew in through the car vents. Eventually I asked where he was from.

"Somalia" he said.

Somalia. I said I knew of his country only because of America's involvement a few years back.

"Yes," he said. "Civil war. Very bad place then. I come home one day, blood in house. Two brothers killed. Rest of family gone."

I was stunned. "How long ago was that?"

"Nine years."
"And have you seen them since?"
"Not see them since."

As the car bumped along, the rest of his story unfolded. He was only 15 the day of the murders. A rival clan killed his brothers. His mother and sister were raped. His father, a Professor, was missing with the rest of them.

"I do not eat for seven days," Mursal said. "I cry all day. I am feeling alone. Then I run away to Kenya."

So much for childhood.

The trip to America

In the years that followed, Mursal lived by his wits. In Nairobi, he found work washing dishes in a hotel restaurant. He tried to save money, but corrupt police took most of his paycheck.

In Uganda, he sold sugared milk on street corners. In Syria and Lebanon, he washed dishes again. He wrote the Red Cross, hoping for word from his family. None came.

For eight years, he was a nomad, moving from country to country, bunking with Somalians, sleeping on floors. He eventually joined a group of refugees that pooled its money and drew names from a hat. The winner used the savings to escape to a safer place.

"When my name finally come, they say, 'Where will you go, Mursal?' I say, 'I want to go to America.'"

And eventually, with a fake passport, he got here. He sought asylum, waited six months in a Philadelphia jail and finally was admitted. That night, he celebrated his freedom at a Burger King.

Mursal Dhudhi is 25 now. He is studying at an Ohio college. Last year, he received a letter through the Red Cross. His mother wrote. She, her husband and several brothers and sisters are in refugee camps today, somewhere between Somalia and Kenya. Mursal drives a cab in hopes of saving enough money to bring them out.

He shook his head. "That cop does not know I only do this for survival."

I looked out the window. I thought about the swaggering trooper. What did he see when he looked at this man? Did he have any idea that this black-skinned face and accented tongue had endured more horror and hardships to get here than the next 10 people in line?

We hear a lot about racial profiling. And despite denials, we all know it exists. It might help, then, if the next cop thinks about Mursal Dhudhi and remembers that behind every assumption is a human who can prove it wrong.

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The police brought order back by focusing their attention on such minor offenses as public drinking, vagrancy, loitering, and the like, leading to a peak in arrests for this kind of behavior around 1870. This enforcement concept came to be known as "incident oriented response." In truth, it was "respond and suppress," since quick punishment was the goal. This usually required some sort of force by police.

Unfortunately, when the old "respond and suppress" mentality of industrial era police started encountering the new "individualistic mentality" of information age citizens, there was bound to be conflict, and there was, and the police lost. While they had not caused the current Great Disruption, the police nevertheless took a brunt of the blame when crime grew out of control. When police increased efforts to restore order, using the same techniques as they used during the Industrial Revolution, they were chastised for being overly aggressive.

Individual rights won out against police heavy-handedness as courts gradually placed restrictions on police practices. But the crime rate continued to grow, and law enforcement continued to have set back after set back at the hands of attorneys and the media. Police reliability, in the eyes of the public, steadily deteriorated.

How far police have fallen is dramatically demonstrated in a survey released by the U.S. Department of Justice in 1997. People were asked to rank the moral confidence and trust they had in various professions "to do the right thing." In 1980, police were ranked next to teachers and doctors. By 1995, police were ranked next to funeral directors and lawyers.

Survey to Measure Moral Confidence and Trust

1980	1995
1. Pharmacist	1. Firefighter
2. Clergy	2. Pharmacist
3. Firefighter	3. Teacher
4. Teacher	4. Dentist
5. ***Police Officer***	5. Clergy
6. Doctor	6. Stock Broker
7. Dentist	7. Doctor
8. Accountant	8. Accountant
9. Stock Broker	9. Funeral Director
10. Lawyer	10. ***Police Officer***
11. Funeral Director	11. Lawyer
12. Politician	12. Politician

Police Fight Back for Trust

The police did have a rough going in the 1970s and 1980s, and there are still unfortunate occurrences of "respond and suppress" police misconduct. But, according to Fukuyama, many police departments are beginning to adapt and, within their own jurisdictions, they are rebuilding public trust in government:

"Community policing and other public policy innovations may have had a far more important impact in revitalizing New York and other American cities than crime statistics alone would indicate. Most traditional police departments were skeptical and even contemptuous of a form of policing that allegedly turned cops into social workers, but by the 1990s the payoffs to community policing were becoming more and more obvious."

What police did right in the 1990s was to refocus their objectives. They took the industrial mindset of "incident response" and amended it to "problem response." Incident-response is typically concerned with outputs, as in numbers, which has in practice put the cart before the horse because there were no "social outcomes" in mind, just enforcement for enforcement sake. A problem-response methodology asks police to form community partnerships so citizens can take part in considering a broad range of responses to solve problems, only one of which may be arrest. To quote James Q. Wilson:

"Community-based policing has now come to mean everything. It's a slogan. But what I mean by 'community-based policing' is that function of the police to 'solve problems,' in a way that is based on a genuine partnership with the neighborhood, in both the venting of the problem and the discussion of the solution. Say the problem is drug dealers, or gangs, or graffiti. The police will not wait simply to respond to a 911 call."

According to Wilson, community-based policing isn't about being soft on crime and police becoming bleeding-heart social workers. It's about swift police involvement with troubled youths before they grow out of control, and it's about accelerating the speed with which we place likely offenders under police surveillance to prevent them from thinking they have an opportunity to commit another crime. It's enforcement ***plus***.

For good reason, says Wilson, the courts have dramatically enlarged the protections that the Constitution gives to the individual. The good thing about problem-oriented policing is that it works with the system to make it community-based, quicker, with prolonged police contact. Consequently, the core mission of "enforcement" is not weakened. On the contrary, it is improved.

Of course, police are not immune to social change, and it was inevitable that some of the new-age individualism would enter the law enforcement culture. As with everything else, the effect has been both positive and negative. In the 1970s and 1980s, a large number of police rank and file asserted their individualism and formed unions and filed lawsuits to claim their "personal" rights. Overall, this produced very positive results. On the other hand, there is concern that some officers in law enforcement have noncommittal attitudes, and are "ethically paralyzed" by their lack of moral certainty on right and wrong. Police cannot assume, and never should have, that people entering the law enforcement profession are pre-culturalized to behave constitutionally.

Fairness Must Come First

While the law is the institution that changes least in any society, according to historian James Burke, the administration of justice — the fair and equal application of law — has never

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been consistent. Throughout history, the biggest problem with law and its enforcement has been in application.

In his book Animal Farm, George Orwell wrote, "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." This statement not only describes the corruption of Stalinist Russia, it also depicts the primary human dilemma regarding justice. Who receives the benefit of legal social contracts has always been an arbitrary selection. Some people have always made themselves more equal than others.

In-groups and out-groups have been based on money, power, kinship, cliques, tribes, ethnicity, religion, color, etc. Someone has always gotten "less law" than somebody else who happens to have better social status. Another example, a leftover from the Industrial Era, is an "efficiency before fairness" mentality, which is commonly used to justify a number of practices, not least of which is "racial-profiling." James Q. Wilson explains the unfairness this way:

"It's a problem of reconciling an imperfect empirical generalization with standards of fair play. The imperfect generalization is that young blacks – and to some extent young Latinos – commit a disproportional share of crimes, so they will get disproportionately stopped for searches. However, they may get stopped to a greater degree than they are actually overrepresented in crime statistics. It's that excess that creates the antagonism [and undermines the stability of our culture]. That seems to me the best argument for community-based policing. If you get the police sufficiently close to the neighborhoods, then the neighborhoods will consult the police and tell them who the bad apples are."

Beginning of the End

The bright side, says Fukuyama, is that "social order, once disrupted, tends to get remade." Social order not only declines, but also increases in long cycles. We're on the tail end of the "great disruption," says Fukuyama, and signs suggest a coming era of much-needed social reordering. Many Gen-Xers are already on the upward curve morally, compared to the previous generation. While social order is beginning to mend, the danger is far from over.

According to Gordon S. Wood, author of *The Creation of the American Republic*, history has proven that public virtue is primarily the consequence of private virtues. For instance, says Fukuyama, people in totalitarian police states often obey the law more strictly than their counterparts in democratic societies do, but we would not be inclined to say that their law-abidingness necessarily represents an abundance of private virtue. It may instead reflect fear of ruthless enforcement and excessive punishment. Under such conditions, crime frequently rises dramatically when the state collapses, as happened when the former Soviet Union fell.

America has always relied on a bank of private virtue in its citizens to sustain social order. Parents and private institutions, such as churches, have always had the responsibility of building virtue in the young. Today, nothing can be taken for granted. Private virtue is continually under attack by media, and by a large minority of excessively individualistic adults wolfishly absorbed in their own desires at the expense of anyone, including their own children.

James Q. Wilson emphasizes that "the failure of parents to raise decent children" is our largest problem, and is the primary reason that so many kids spiral into drug abuse, violence, and sexual irresponsibility. What has created the inability of parents to raise children? According to Wilson, the *widespread* phenomenon has only been around for 25 years (again, a correlation with the current Great Disruption). Says Wilson: "I do think the problem is sufficiently serious so that no modest interventions will make a difference." In the next century, police need to move beyond just "fixing broken windows" and begin to take an active part in fixing broken kids.

During the Industrial Revolution, religion played a primary role in restoring cultural norms. But the American norm on religion, "each according to the dictates of his own conscience," is truer today than it has ever been. Information Age individualism has changed the way people view religion. The loyalty and obedience to church authority as a rule making body no longer exists. Consequently, in our modern era, religion is too fractionalized to lead social reform on as massive a scale as it did. However, religion continues to be one of humankind's greatest hopes for the development of virtue within the individual. While it's true that some individualists have forsaken religion, most people see religion's new role as a guide to personal faith.

So, the question is, how far might America's re-norming go? According to Fukuyama, our "reason for hope is the very powerful innate human capacity for reconstituting social order." Italian Franco Ferrarotti is highly optimistic about the future of the United States because of its ability to overcome differences and adapt. He cites the American Civil War and the remarkable reintegration of the South as the best proof of America's constitutional veracity. According to Patrick Kennon, throughout history, the greatest empires are those that bestow citizenship and its benefits far and wide. By contrast, the short-lived nations foster and protect small "tribal" interests against all comers.

Things are far from perfect, but few have ever been so fortunate as those who live in our modern age. And there does seem to be proof that humanity is progressing morally. History shows that law continues to get less and less discriminatory. But there is still a way to go in the world before we can say that justice is truly blind and everyone gets the same treatment under the law.

Civilization is like a rug. There are three key threads which, if pulled out, cause the entire fabric to unravel. The first thread is family, for virtue and love. The second thread is law, for balance between control and chaos. The final thread is faith, for if a person has no faith, they might as well be a dog howling at the moon (Zulu Proverb).